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the government^a in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794-1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.⁷ However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways^a who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Sarwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [SDE] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].^b

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^a *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

⁷ Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710-794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12-14 and 24.

^a That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

^b There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

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Early Japan AB 3
Feudal Japan AB 2E
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The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Aim policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

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It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

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181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism¹¹ or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.¹² But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

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648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.¹³ To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.¹² If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,¹⁴ then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.¹⁵ However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.¹⁶ To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.¹⁷ The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

¹¹ Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

¹² Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslinie des Fortschrittes*.

[101] ¹³ Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, *Kita Yezo Zusei* or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

¹⁴ Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shimo* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

¹⁵ Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

¹⁶ Kōnō Hiromichi, *Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki* (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, *Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite* (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

¹⁷ *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuci*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

¹⁸ Torii Ryūzō, *Kyōkutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304-310.

621 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms
 361 this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river.
 Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they
 would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where
 game could be found and it seems that they never
 remained in any one place." However, they did not
 move as a nomadic people and they can be considered
 migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural
 people. They stayed in one place during the winter
 and probably moved to another area to work during
 [166] the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that
 the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three
 islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had
 fishing areas on nearby islands.³⁵ During the winter
 the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders
 came across were probably secondary villages built for
 the summer working season or permanent non-winter
 villages. There is interesting material in the remains
 of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the
 Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds
 of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings
 scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and
 the scene resembled a large community with a common
 cemetery.³⁶ In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a
 third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a
 description of such a village in Kunashiri.³⁷ This is all
 reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics
 and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure
 of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence
 that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today
 it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the
 district were of the same period. The archaeological
 evidence which we do have indicating the existence of
 common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family
 communities, but the villages of which we have knowl-
 edge were more complicated and included, besides kins-
 men, people from other villages. While a large village
 had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense,
 it was generally made up of more than two family
 groups.³⁸ Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki*
 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the
 whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he
 is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used
 by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had sub-
 mitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says:
 "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin*-

³⁵ Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles),
 70 ff.

³⁶ Abe Masami, *Hokkaidō no Chashi* (The forts of Hokkaidō)
Jinruigaku Zasshi (JZ) 33: 66 ff.

³⁷ *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of
 July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani.
 There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and con-
 cubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat
 land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea
 while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

³⁸ Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal
 marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by
 the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates
 lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
158 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them.
He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

- 172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted,
the superstructure of many dwellings being in form
very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that
they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved.
There are no human remains of such, nor are there any
place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting
those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878
I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in
the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of
the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from
the heaps of stones they contained one might very
reasonably infer that these were missiles used in
fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of
ancient Japan were called by a name which means,
when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers
in earthen houses," i.e. just "Pit-dwellers." In Sag-
halien the name for such dwellings is, *toche*, "earth
houses." They were built over shallow pits which
were about three feet deep. The superstructure con-
sisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends;
they were well covered with bark, straw and earth.
There are stories which tell how the Tungusic in-
habitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings
by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff
lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to
escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take
the women and children captive. We are informed
that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings
many years ago and the present inhabitants of
Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses.
The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing
to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them
because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

BATTLES WITH THE JAPANESE

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for a short time during the coldest part of the year. 172
 There can be no doubt that these houses were very 342
 unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought
 down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government
 in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island
 of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves
 pit dwellings, not one is left. They, i.e. those of them
 who did not return to their old homes, died of con-
 sumption for the most part. Only the remains of
 their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called 115
 them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name 824
 had to do with it, he told me that it was because they
 were such little demons that this cognomen was given
 them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them
 were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis,
 which is called *korokoni*. It is named *juki* in Japanese,
 and is the *petasitis japonicus*, Miq. This plant grows to
 a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest
 I ever remember having measured was four feet one
 inch across and the length of the stem was over five
 feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and
 Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of
 the name was interesting, but it was not at all satis-
 factory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe
 that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these 539
 people. "In very ancient times a race of people who 773
 dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny
 that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one
 petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to
 make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo
 grass) together, and they always fished with hook and
 line. If a single herring was caught, it took the
 united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten
 sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole
 crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and
 spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

82 or god. Indeed, they look upon Heaven and God as the macrocosms and the earth and man as the microcosms, and as it is above, so is it below.

773 As for producing things, the Supreme God is supposed to have made the world, a demon made rats and some such vermin, while Aeoina, the divine one, made snakes, eels and some other beings. Some things, such as fish, for example, were formed out of bones cast out of Heaven after a celestial feast. Hares were evolved out of hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels were made out of the cast-off shoes of Aeoina, while some fishes came out of the scales of such of these creatures as had been eaten in Heaven. The skylark is really a heavenly bird which was banished to this world for disobedience. Bears and sea-lions came out of sparks. We have already accounted for the origin of fleas.

The beautiful flower, the adonis, is said to have been a Goddess, who was changed from her real heavenly state and banished to this earth by a curse from God and the pine-marten. Frogs had their origin in a woman who was cursed for bad conduct, and the grebe and diver kind, in general, are said to have been developed out of the uneatable parts of a trout. It is a very great jumble out of which a clever story teller might manufacture tales *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*. In fact, as some of us understand Darwin, in the Ainu we

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A STONE AXE

ORIGIN OF AINU, AND CREATION

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of disease. They came into the world in this way. 773
Once upon a time, when they lived upon earth, the
daities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and, in [753]
order to procure a light, got sticks of silver birch and
rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for
a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing
came out but black and dull yellow sparks, and these
were quite incapable of producing good, bright fire.
No sooner did the sparks appear than some at once
turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones
became demons which originated some kinds of ill-
nesses. This being the case, the gods cast away their
sticks and got flints which they struck together. These
made nice bright sparks which very soon became fire.



A STONE KNIFE

[172] •

After they had finished their smoke and were now
about to return to Heaven, they threw some of their
flints into the sea and the rest upon the earth. Those
which fell upon the dry land became sea lions, and
those which were thrown into the sea turned them-
selves into great whales.

"Now it happened that the bears and sea-lions were
quite unable to live at peace, but spent their whole
time quarrelling, fighting and tearing one another. God
would not allow this to go on, so, in order to determine
which should live upon dry land and which should be
banished to the sea, He called them to him and caused
them to have a race and so settle the matter. They
assembled at the appointed time and place, where they
strove hard for the mastery. The bears won the race,
and were therefore allowed to remain on the dry land,

101 hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aiolna. Aiolna is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

622 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

lers, or koro-pok-gune dwellers, under ground, which they claim to have exterminated. But it is impossible to determine whether this is a genuine tradition or an invention of the people to explain the existence of the pits. It is reasonable to suppose that they should have heard of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, who also live in half-underground dwellings. The Tsuishikari Ainos, who originally inhabited Saghalien, and who have customs somewhat different from the Yezo Ainos, say that their people^a "used to live in underground houses called *twichioei*. In spring they forsook them and lived above ground until the frost and snow again made them seek shelter in these subterranean dwellings, which were pits roofed over, not caves."^b Possibly the Saghalin Ainos are the more or less direct descendants of the ancient pit-dwellers, but it seems quite as likely that they have thus merely described the dwellings of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, with whom they must have been well acquainted. The Smelenkur seem to be a Mongolian people.

From the relics of the Stone Age and of the kitchen middens in Japan, Professor Milne concludes that the Ainos[†] once inhabited Japan as far south as Kiushiu. The remains are of the same character throughout the country, but they are more abundant in the north. The evidence that they are of Aino origin may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) The designs on the pottery are the same as those on pottery found in Yezo, supposed to have been made by Ainos at a time when they possessed the art of making pots.

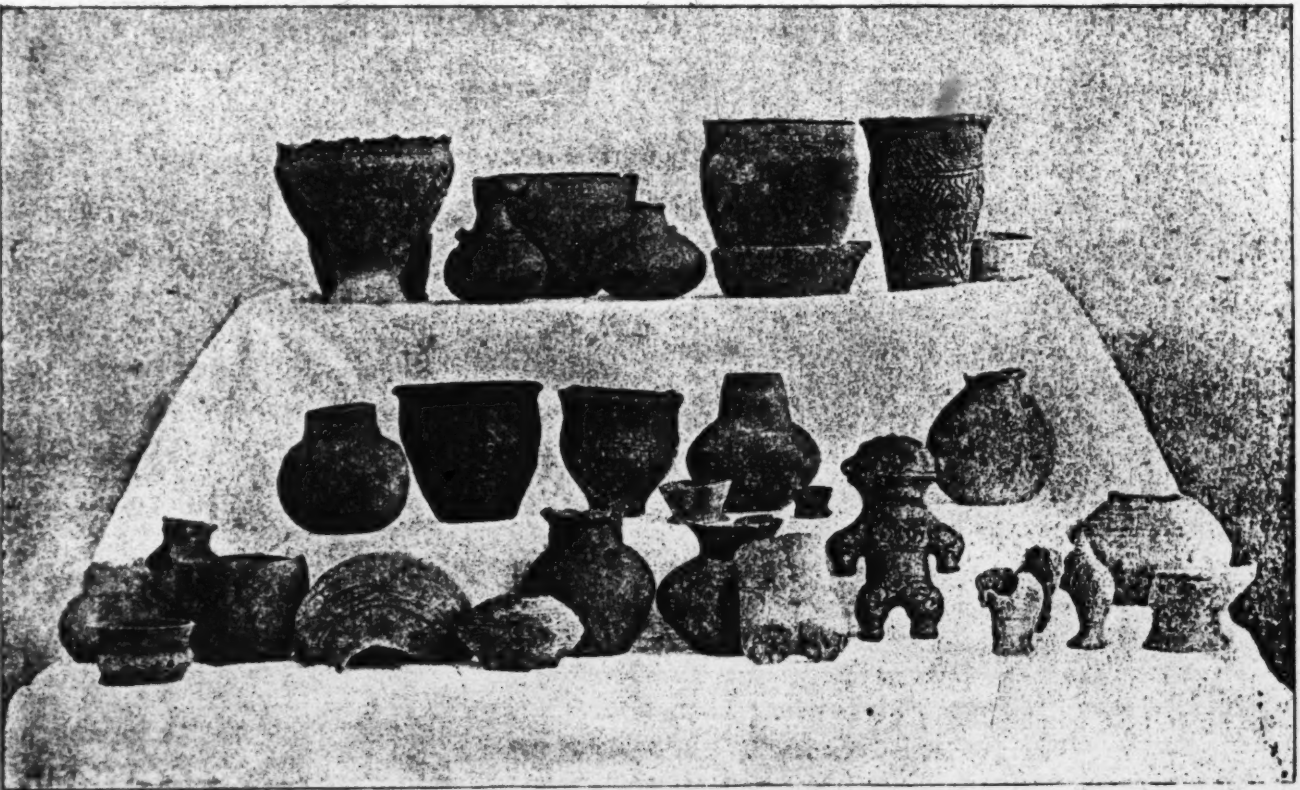
(2) Some of the shell-heaps occur in places known to have been occupied by Ainos. Historical evidence is clear that the Ainos formerly lived as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel, which is about the latitude of Sendai. [75]

(3) The Ainos formerly used stone implements, presumably the same as those found with the pottery. Professor Milne presumes that the Japanese, entering the country from the south, chased the Ainos before them, while the Ainos in turn drove the pit-dwellers back toward Kamtschatka. There is, however, a missing link in the argument, because the present Ainos do not make pottery of any kind. It is scarcely probable that such a useful art, when once developed to the condition of elaborate artistic decoration shown by the vessels and fragments from the shell-heaps, should be utterly lost by a people. The specimens shown on Plate LXXXI will give an idea of the character of this decoration, which is far superior to anything found on Japanese sepulchral pottery. The only explanation that suggests itself which might account for the loss of this art by the Ainos is, that in gradually moving northward they passed into a region where they could not find clay for making their vessels. But this can scarcely be true, for fragments of ancient pots are found in Yezo mounds.

^a J. M. Dixon. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, xi, 1883, 39-50.

[†] Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, vii, 1879, 61-87.

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ANCIENT POTTERY FROM M. L'ABBÉ FURET COLLECTION.

[Facing p. 436]

174 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting collection made up by M. Pabbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were 172 obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main 323 island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much [145] flattened or platynemic. Such bones have been found by Professor [266] Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are descendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them 123 on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 154. Printed in Japanese.

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit."

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koropok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu.



AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

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KORO-POK-KURU PORT.

CHAPTER IX.

The Koro-pok-kuru, or Pit-dwellers.

- 172 ALL over Yezo and the Kurile Islands remains of an extinct race of pit-dwellers are to be seen. It is especially near lakes and swamps or along the coast that rectangular, circular, and elliptical pits are numerous, but square pits are not so common. None of these pits have yet been discovered on the main island of Nippon, but many are still to be found as far south as Hakodate, in Yezo. On the east and north-east side of the peak, at the latter port, these pits, flint implements, and rude pottery, mostly in fragments, are met with in great abundance. The implements consist mostly of arrow-heads, stone adzes,



FLINT ARROW-HEADS.

hammers, flint knives, and round pebbles, which were used as war ammunition. The arrow-heads vary in size, length, and

breadth. The larger ones I saw measured an inch and three-quarters in length by an inch and five-eighths in breadth, while the smaller were seven-eighths of an inch by half an inch. They were triangular, with the angle at the point sometimes more, sometimes less acute, or lozenge-shaped; they are chipped, and not ground. Most of the arrow-heads and a good many of the knives were made of a dark reddish siliceous rock. The adzes also, of course, varied in size and shape, some being oblong in section, others almost rectangular, while others again were oval. They were ground, and always made so that the hand could have a good grip on them. The average length from the sharp edge to the other end would be about four inches, and the sides were rounded. It is apparent that most of these adzes were not originally fastened to a stick or club, but were held in the hand. They usually have a smooth surface, while the knives, as well as the arrow-points, exhibit marks of chipping quite plainly; their edges are very sharp. Hard stones are often found on which the people of the Stone Age used to grind their implements. The knives are mostly rectangular, with very sharp edges, sometimes on both sides. Then there are some in the shape of a sword-blade, rounded at the top, and with a rounded place at the other end, where they were held. Those with two sharp edges were triangular in shape, and were held by the upper part of the triangle, which point ends with a kind of knob.



FLINT KNIVES.

It is a curious fact that bone and bamboo arrow-points—probably Ainu—are sometimes found in pits, and this would lead me to believe, either that the conquering Ainu used these weapons in their attacks upon the pit-dwellers, or, supposing for a moment that the Ainu themselves were the pit-dwellers in former days, that they had abandoned their

●172 stone implements and had adopted bone and wood, which they found easier to work. I am inclined to the first supposition as the correct one. The pits are numerous in Yezo, and, following the southern coast from south-west to north-east, we find that they increase in number towards the north. Though stone implements and fragments of pottery are numerous nearly all along the southern coast, but few pits are found either on Volcane Bay or on the south-west part of the coast as far as Erimo Cape. As we pass this cape and go north, on the south-east coast the pits become more numerous, and at Kushiro—or Kossuri, as the Ainu call it—they are found in great quantities. Further on are some at Akkeshi, and they are plentiful nearly all along that stretch of the coast as far as Nemuro, and on Bentenjima, the small island which forms one side of the harbour at that place. North-east of that, in the Kuriles, at Kunashiri and Etorofu, we have abundant evidence that a large population of these pit-dwellers once existed there. In Etorofu particularly the pits, besides being frequent, are in much better preservation than any on the island of Yezo.

The pit-dwellers do not seem to have been particular as to the shape of their dwellings, though they evidently had a certain predilection for the elliptical and rectangular forms. The pits at Kushiro are nearly all rectangular, while those from Akkeshi to Nemuro are either rectangular or circular.

The average dimensions of rectangular pits are about twelve feet by nine feet, but I have seen some as large as sixteen feet by twelve feet. The sides slope inwards, and the average depth is from three to six feet. Pits which are situated on cliffs, or at any height, are generally deeper, probably for the extra shelter required by those living at an altitude, compared with those living on the sea-level. The round pits are from ten to fourteen feet in diameter, and the elliptical have a length of about sixteen feet, and are about eight feet at the widest part of the ellipse. The pits which I found on the north-east coast of Yezo, from Shari to Cape Soya, were not so numerous as those on the southern coast; but some of them were larger in size, as probably, owing to the greater severity of the climate, more people lived in the same hut for the purpose of creating natural heat. At Tobuts, on the Saruma

Lake, are three of elliptical shape. Near Abashiri several well-preserved specimens of pottery have been found, especially in the mud of swamps or lakes; but after leaving Lake Saruma, I did not see any traces of the pit-dwellers till I approached Soya Cape. When these pits are excavated, a stratum of sand is generally found, and beneath it a large quantity of charcoal in the centre of the pit. Under the charcoal the earth is burnt, showing that the hearth was in the centre of the dwelling, as it is now in the Ainu huts. This goes to prove that there was one fire, and not, as some travellers have endeavoured to show, five or six burning at the same time, round which, or, rather, between which, the pit-dwellers slept. I have often dug in different parts of pits, and have invariably come upon this burnt charcoal in or near the middle. I never saw any signs of more than one fire in the same pit. Digging in a large pit at Kushiro, I found some stag-horns, and numerous bits of black and red pottery. Some of the fragments had rough line ornamentations on them. There was also a large quantity of war ammunition, in the shape of big pebbles and round stones. Most pits contain heaps of rubbish and bones of animals. Sometimes there are heaps of oyster shells, as near the pits on Saruma Lake; and these shell-heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon. In another pit on one of the forts at Kushiro I found what I thought was part of a human skull; but on a closer examination it turned out to be the skull of an animal—probably a fox or a stag. A bone arrow-point also came to light in the same pit, and several stone defensive weapons. It was interesting to note that this pit was built on the top of a small conical hill, and that the hill itself was surrounded by a ditch only a few feet wide, thus forming a kind of fort. On the side and at the bottom of the fort I saw numbers of stones, which had in all probability been used by the pit-dwellers as missiles against the attacking Ainu during a battle. Besides forts, the pit-dwellers had camps, generally situated in a commanding position above a river, a lake, or a harbour. Single pits also are found only under similar conditions.

Near Kushiro, on the Lake Harutori, which is divided from the sea by a sand isthmus, are several camps and one or two

●172 forts, the first of which overlooks the sea. Along the Kutcharo River are forts and camps. These camps are on the crowns of the hills, and each is surrounded by a small ditch. In the last, about three miles from the coast, were several square pits, larger than those on the other three forts. This last fort stands some distance back from the river, and is situated in a little plain at the summit of a detached mound, which has the appearance of having been artificially cut from the larger remaining portion of the hill itself. The shape of the fort is a broken cone, and the base measures about nine hundred feet in circumference, while the upper one is about three hundred. From the top, where there is only a small pit, the entrance of the river can easily be watched; and it must have been almost impregnable, as the walls of the fort, or, rather, the sides of the conical hill, rise nearly perpendicularly from the plain. A small stream runs at the foot of the fort.

On the Lake Harutori the range of hills which stretches from the sea for three or four miles along its eastern shores is literally covered with these pits, and on the sandy isthmus separating the sea from the lake some very large pits can be observed. The fort near the sea is called *Shirito* by the Ainu, and that at the other end of the range goes by the name of *Moshiriya*. It was in the latter fort that the well-shaped bone arrow-point was found, as well as one or two stone adzes, which were so shaped as to fit the hand, and evidently had been used as hammers, or weapons of offence at close quarters. In the same fort I found two stags' horns in good preservation, and many bones of different animals. It is doubtful whether these heaps of horns and bones were brought into the pits for the purpose of making arrow-points and other weapons, or whether the stags had been used merely for food. The bone arrow-point found in the same pit was not in such a decayed condition as most of the bones I found there, which led me to believe that it was not made out of the same kind of bone, or that the bone out of which it was made had been cured before its conversion into an arrow-point. I believe that in the neighbourhood of Kusuri—or Kushiro, as it is now called by the Japanese—there are as many as a thousand or fifteen hundred pits. In Etorofu, at Bet-to-bu, on the north-west coast of the island, nearly as many are to be found

along the seashore, mostly on the plain at the top of the cliffs overlooking the sea, while the rest are situated on the banks of a narrow stream and along what appears to have been a river course. On the same island, at Ru-pets, are several pits of a similar description, and a fort. 192

As the pit-dwellers have disappeared from Yezo and the Kuriles, and only pre-historic remains and relics have been left behind to indicate their former existence, the questions naturally arise: Who were these pit-dwellers? Whence did they come? and whither have they gone? We can place no reliance on the accounts given by the Ainu or by the highly imaginative Japanese, who, moreover, are perfectly ignorant on this subject. Some Ainu say that Yezo was formerly peopled by a race of dwarfs, who were their enemies, and were extirpated by them after many sanguinary battles. The Ainu are very vague as to when and where these battles were fought, but according to their accounts these pit-dwellers, whom they call the *Koro-pok-kuru*—literally "men of holes"—once inhabited Yezo and the Kuriles. They were only three or four feet in height, and some semi-Ainu stories represent them as being only a few inches tall. This of course might be taken to mean that they were very small by comparison. A few Ainu, yet more imaginative than others, go so far as to say gravely that the *Koro-pok-kuru* were so tiny that when a shower of rain came they hid under burdock leaves for shelter. Others, however, tell us that these *Koro-pok-kuru* were their ancestors, and much more hairy than the Ainu of the present day. They were strong, fond of hunting, and able to cross the mountains with great facility and speed. According to Mr. Batchelor, some Ainu state that they themselves formerly lived in huts over pits, and that they changed their method of house-building on coming in contact with the Japanese; but if this were the case it seems unaccountable that they should distinguish their predecessors as pit-dwellers. Moreover, if the influence of the Japanese was sufficiently strong to cause them to make this most important change in their habitations and mode of living, how comes it that in other matters they have not adopted Japanese customs? I was unable to trace the slightest resemblance between Ainu huts and Japanese edifices of any kind, either in their general appearance or in any of 192

172 the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small
 177 extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the
 dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is
 peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing
 their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and
 perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable
 coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from
 Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs
 of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular,
 which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on
 the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the
 shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the
 coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a
 sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the
 elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

[342] The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however,
 are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabit-
 ants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence
 of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own
 ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or
 not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded
 them a great deal of amusement.

184 On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some
 341 Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in
 132 the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not
 as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River;
 but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle
 of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu archi-
 tecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they
 copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or
 whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain
 resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay.
 I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford
 341 an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi,
 132 and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in
 184 winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls
 during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very
 slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them
 in winter, while during the summer months the rain should
 fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down.

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion.

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit.

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

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172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"¹ but they know nothing of their history.

[323] One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood, [177] though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?



KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

[173] Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

¹ *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers is quite certain, for they live in pits at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

114 to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September,
184 1890), where not only these Shimushu people, but all the
Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where
they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture
and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo
Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

184 Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so
suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly
above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing
they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation
after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief
structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as
severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing
to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the
best of what they found in their migrations from one island to
another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had
lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves
from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own
style of dwellings, which would have required too much time
and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in
the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to
occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to
admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in
any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I
believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At
174 any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to
collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually
saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have
speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of
the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic specu-
lation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they
came.

172 As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find
that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction.
Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few
have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint
arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there,
show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that
coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or
to fight the Ainu.

Along the south-east coast the pits increase in number as we approach Kusuri, and at this place the largest number of pits in Hokkaido is found; then they are numerous all along the coast as far as Nemuro; and in the islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu the population must have been large, as there are numerous pits throughout. Pits are found in the smaller islands of the Kurile group, and I believe also in Kamschatka. From Nemuro, following the coast-line of Yezo, we find some along the north-east coast of Yezo, and none down the west coast until we reach the narrower part of the island near Sapporo. This said, we have two points to consider:—

(1.) That the pit-dwellers moved from north-east to south-west.

(2.) That the main bulk of the population settled in Etorofu, Kunashiri, and at Kushiro. Few went further south to settle.

All evidence tends to show that they came either from Kamschatka, or perhaps more probably from the Aleutian Islands. It seems not improbable, looking at the volcanic formation of the Kurile group, that in bygone days Yezo was joined to Kamschatka, affording a land passage to the migratory people; but this we need not take into consideration.

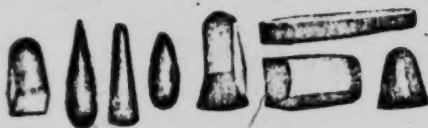
From what one can gather of this race, the habits and customs of the Koro-pok-kuru must have had many points in common with the present Esquimaux. Very likely their pits were roofed over with a snow vault. They evidently lived by fishing and hunting, like the Esquimaux, and all that we know identifies them more with the latter race than with the Ainu.

I believe that the present Aleuts have a striking resemblance to the Esquimaux; and if this were the case, there is no reason why we should not suppose that they in former days inhabited the Kuriles, part of Kamschatka and the north-east portion of Yezo. It is a well-known fact that the Esquimaux formerly lived in corresponding latitudes on the east coast of America, and that they withdrew little by little to the more inhospitable regions of the north, and the same might have occurred here after the Ainu invasion of Yezo. The Koro-pok-kuru were apparently more civilised than their conquerors the Ainu, for they made pottery and worked stone; but owing to their retiring nature and weaker physique, and outnumbered by the savage hairy people, they became extinct. As to the Ainu,

174 they also are undoubtedly a race of the north. Their music, their decorations, their habits, display characteristics of northern origin; but the Ainu, as we have seen from their structures and customs, were by no means accustomed to so cold a climate as their predecessors the pit-dwellers. In my opinion they did not invade Yezo from the Kuriles, but came from the continent of Asia, probably across Siberia, and descended as far as Sakhalin Island, where many Ainu are still to be found. As the Koro-pok-kuru resemble the Esquimaux, the Ainu have a striking resemblance in many ways to the Northmen of Europe, and this is what makes me suppose that they came across the northern part of the continent, and not from the northern islands of the Pacific. They made their way south, probably crossing over the La Perouse Strait, and the main contingent of them came down the north-east coast of Yezo. I base this theory on the fact that the strong current which passes through the La Perouse Strait from west to east would have made it impossible for the Ainu in their light "dug-outs" to navigate against it, or straight across from Sakhalin to Sōya Cape, and in crossing they were undoubtedly drifted far south-east on the north-east coast, probably landing near Abashiri or Shari. Another evidence which made me think that the Ainu came from Sakhalin is, that all knew of another island besides Yezo, which they called Kraſto, by which name they designate Sakhalin. Of the Kuriles no one knew except those in the immediate neighbourhood. At one time the Ainu are said to have inhabited the whole of Japan as far south as Satsuma. Archaeologists are puzzled by the discovery in the main island of Nippon of various kitchen-middens, which include fragments of pottery identical with those attributed to the Koro-pok-kuru, and also of shell heaps, which some consider of Ainu origin, others as pre-Ainu. No pits, however, have been found near these shell heaps, nor on any part of Nippon. Thus another question is raised as to who the originators of these shell heaps and kitchen-middens were. Is it not likely that, as the Ainu proceeded south, they encountered the Koro-pok-kuru at Nemuro and then at Kushiro, and, having easily defeated them, forced some of them to retreat in the direction of the Kuriles, while the rest went towards the

the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.



STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

133 tion. On a pretty bit of green grass in the foreground, only a few feet above the sea-level, were a shed and a storehouse. A reef and shallow water closed the entrance of the bay to the foaming waves of the Pacific. In the sheltered water, which was as smooth as a mirror, the dark rich colour of the overhanging rocks, caressed by the last warm rays of the dying sun, was reflected with absolute fidelity and almost increased loveliness. A cold whitish sky, and the *white horses* breaking on the reef, completed the *ensemble* of that lovely scene; and it was with great regret, after having attempted a sketch, that I was told my horse was ready, and I had to leave this poetical and exquisite scene.

•172 On the slight elevations near Otchishi, and in the valley, pits are still to be seen, showing that the pit-dwellers were once numerous in this district. They are found both along the coast as well as slightly inland by the side of small rivers, and on the shores of the Saruffu lagoon. A well-kept road
 000 begins at Otchishi, and goes on to Nemuro. At first it runs
 [13] over hilly ground and through an oak-wooded country, then through thick forests of spruce trees, the trees standing very close together. About four miles from Nemuro a military settlement—"Hanasaki"—similar to the one on the Shibetcha-Akkeshi road, has been established by the Japanese Government. Here, again, I was struck by the difficulty and the amount of labour involved in clearing the trees off the ground. It will take many years before the industrious farmers will have any return for their hard labour. I do not know what the object of the Japanese Government may have been in starting these two militia settlements in spots so unfit for cultivation, but it seems a great pity to see the Tokachi region, which has all the requisites for successful agriculture, quite deserted, while hundreds of men are wasting their strength and time at other places, where it will take several years to open enough ground for even a kitchen-garden.

Past the long row of houses at Hanasaki the road descends gently, and I arrived at Nemuro, a thriving place of about fifteen hundred houses, on the south-west coast of the plateau-like peninsula ending at Cape Noshafu. The general elevation of the plateau is between sixty and one hundred and twenty feet

all mountainous, with the exception of a small valley near Rubets. It is along the banks of the Bettobu River, in that small valley and on those terraces, that the numerous pits of the Koro-pok-kuru are found, and also at Rupets, further south on the same coast. This, however, I have already explained in connection with the pit-dwellers. The two small fishing-stations above mentioned are respectively under the lee of the headlands ending in Cape Ikahasonets and Notoro Cape. On the first headland the mountain of Tsiriju rises to a great altitude. The largest fishing-station is at Shana, on the western side of this headland, and further north, besides Bettobu, is the small station of Shibets. South-west of Shana one finds Rubets, Furubets, Oitoi, and Naibo, the latter in the bay of the same name. There are five lakes in Etorofu, two of which are between Shana and Bettobu, one near Rubets, the other close to Naibo; the fifth is a very small one, fifteen or sixteen miles north-east of Bettobu. The country has a rugged look, and in some places, as near Rubets, where the volcanic mountain masses leave space for low terraces the scrub-bamboo is very thick, as in Yezo, and small and stunted trees form the chief vegetation. Larch is more common on the north-west coast than on the south-east. Good timber is rather scarce in Etorofu, but a fair quantity of it is to be found inland, and also at the south-western portion of the island about Naipo.

Accumulations of sulphur are found at Ichibishinai, and there is an active volcano south-east of Bettobu, besides the beautiful volcanic cone of Atzosa, three or four thousand feet above sea-level. All this volcanic mountain mass, with its warmly-tinted peaks, bears the characteristics of the central portion of Yezo; and there seems to be little doubt that all this row of islands, with the frequent submerged craters and volcanic cones, is nothing but the continuation of the volcanic zone in Yezo. The main resource of Etorofu is the fishing. Four different kinds of salmon and salmon-trout are found, one similar to the salmon common in Yezo, the others somewhat differently marked. Salmon is extremely plentiful, and in July and August enormous catches are made, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where the fish are closely packed together.

I would not have mentioned this small episode if her ways of flirting had not been so extraordinary and funny. Loving and biting went together with her. She could not do the one without doing the other. As we sat on a stone in the semi-darkness she began by gently biting my fingers, without hurting me, as affectionate dogs often do to their masters; she then bit my arm, then my shoulder, and when she had worked herself up into a passion she put her arms round my neck and bit my cheeks. It was undoubtedly a curious way of making love, and when I had been bitten all over, and was pretty tired of the new sensation, we retired to our respective homes.

In the evening, as I was writing my diary by the light of one of the oyster-shell primitive lamps, somebody noiselessly crept by my side. I turned my head round. It was she! She grew more and more sentimental as it grew later, and she bestowed on me caresses and bites in profusion. Kissing, apparently, was an unknown art to her. The old woman, in whose house I was, slept soundly all through this, as old women generally do on such occasions. By the mysterious light of the dying wick, casting heavy shadows which marked her features strongly, with her jet-black wild hair fading away into the black background, with her passionate eyes, and her round, statue-like arms, the girl was more like a strange fairy than a human being.

I sketched her twice in pencil, and the wick—that wretched wick!—grew feeble, and, for the lack of oil, began to dwindle away. I persuaded her to return to her hut, and with a few “bites” my hairy maid and I parted.

The morning came, and I was up early. In the vicinity of the huts I found three Koro-pok-kuru pits similar to those we have already seen; and previous to arriving at Tobuts I also found a fort belonging to the pre-Ainu race. From Tobuts, continuing my journey north, on the stretch of sand between the water of the sea and that of the Saruma lake the travelling was fairly easy but monotonous. The long chain of mountains on the other side of the lake was magnificent in the morning light. For twenty-two miles this went on; then I had to cross the Yubets River in the picturesque spot where its waters divide before again uniting

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532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea."
The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the
main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes
complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird
heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

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• 172 The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
532 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
825 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
[17] self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically
Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was
only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old
worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils
and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been
preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu cele-
brated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were
made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of
greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured
representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like
representations with the head of the bear all dug out from
under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize,
twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears'
heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in
pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The re-
mainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is
evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by
soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out
figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
A dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[115] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar repre-
[224] sentations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a
successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs. / /36/

532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

A /39 cont./

532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
 171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the
 Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the
 Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic
 culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the
 ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest
 centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is
 no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighbor-
 ing peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to repro-
 duce the illustrations in this source for the English translation.
 Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text
 for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the
 researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated
 and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers
 refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

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Figure 1, page 33.

"Bear ladle" from the village My
 (collected by the expedition).
 Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

Figure 2, page 34.

Fragment of a "bear ladle"
 representing the hide and head of
 a bear. From the village of My.
 Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

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Figure 3, page 35.

Sculpture representations gathered
 at ancient places of worship. From
 the Ainu villages Niita and
 Sirokham.

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Figure 4, page 37.

Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi
 representing a bear head.

Figure 5, page 37.

Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

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101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

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- 172 On the many caves and remnants of huts the Ainu give less varied
342 and contradictory reports. They attribute stone tools and potsherds to the Tonchi who formerly lived there. The Ainu can even exactly distinguish their own old caves and clay huts from the dwellings of the Tonchi. The caves of the latter are deeper but narrower than those of the Ainu. Not far from the Taraika Lake one finds on sandy hills over an extension of several kilometers caves which the Ainu believed to be dwellings of the Tonchi. In some of these caves I took measurements and obtained the following results: depth, one and one-fourth to one and one-half meter, width of the square-shaped entrance, four and one-fourth to five meters. The depth of the Ainu caves, however, never exceeded about one meter, while its diameter was considerably larger than that of the Tonchi caves.

[171] Another difference between the Tonchi caves and the remains of the Ainu huts lies in the fact that the latter show in their background [342] a conical hole of varying size. These are the so-called toj simpuj, i.e. earth wells, out of which earth was taken for the fabrication of the clay roofs. The longer the inhabitants stay in the same yurt the more their roof crumbles off and the more earth for its repair is fetched from the earth-well, which therefore becomes deeper and deeper.

There are "wells" whose depth is two meters but whose circumference in its widest place reaches up to seventeen-and-a-half meters. These wells, by the way, are not found in all the huts which according to [171] the Ainu came down from their ancestors. They explain that a winter yurt is vacated at once and for good whenever a member of the family had died in it. If this happens shortly after they have moved into the yurt, perhaps in the first year, no trace of a "well" is found in the spacious cave. In the building of the hut the earth dug out from under the hut itself is entirely sufficient for the production of the roof. The same conical openings were also found next to many Tonchi caves, the origin of which, however, is different. Some generations ago the Ainu used these Tonchi huts in order to stage very extraordinary eagle hunts. A bait was placed in the cave, usually the fresh meat of a killed dog, whereupon the whole cave, with the exception of an upper and side opening, was covered with mats so that it closely resembled a tent. The first opening served the eagle who was allured

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173 swords on Hokkaido. From this conversation I concluded that this was a matter of swords imported from Manchuria and that the name Tondzin they were given can be explained by the fact that a long time ago it was the Tonchi who brought Manchurian objects into the country for the first time.

• 172 In the following places on Sakhalin known to me remains of Tonchi dwellings can be found:

a) On the western shore of Sakhalin.

1. In the southern village of Siranusi (De Preradowicz, Ethnographische Skizze von Sud-Sachalin, p. 13). 2. At a distance of ca. nine kilometers from the village of Siranusi (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 3. On the river Tei, above the great fisheries (from there workmen brought me two stone axes). 4. Next to the village Poro-Tomari, somewhat to the north of Mauka (according to Siemionow). 5. In Oko Tomari, not far from Mauka, in a place bordering the seashore a stone chisel was found (according to the same Siemionow). 6. Large quadrangular piles of earth on the banks of the river Mauka, situated a little higher than the fishery plants. (information obtained from the fishery owner Demby). 7. The same type of earthpiles near Kusunay. 8. The valley of the river Dui and the valley of Aleksandrowsk. Both places are mentioned by Polakow in his reports on the research on Sakhalin. 9. The shallow seashore between the villages Wiahtu and Pomr (Ausgrabungen von L. Sternberg, Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 177).

b) In the Bay of Aniwi.

1. At the mouth of the river Susui (Polakow, Berichte uber Forschungen auf Sachalin, p. 19). 2. In the environment of the village and Lake Tschipisani. Laks, the manager of the sawmill there, collected many stone tools and gave them all to the naturalist P.J. Schmidt when he traveled on Sakhalin. 3. Near Korsakowsk (a stone wedge was found there. Katalog des sachalinischen Museums. Kalender von Sachalin fur das Jahr 1897, p. 176).

c) On the eastern shore.

1. and 2. In the environment of the villages Ayruipo and Tunaytschi (according to the Ainu). 3. and 4. Near the villages

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- 172 Dubki and Seraroko, next to one of the caves near Seraroko, a whole pot was found which was given to the Sakhalin Museum. I myself dug for some days in this place, but did not find anything except some fragments which I sent to the museum of the Petersburg Academy of Arts and Sciences. 5. Three kilometers below Naybutshi, not far from Swan Lake (Schwanensee) (De Preradowicz, p. 10). 6. Around the village Mogunkotan (Lopatin). 7. Around the village Siruturu. 8. On the bank of the river Nituj, some kilometers above its mouth. 9. On the bank of the river Kótankes, ca. seven kilometers above its mouth. 10. To the south of the village Kotankes, at a distance of ca. five kilometers from the seashore on a large circumference. 11. Next to the village Tomarikes (according to the Ainu). 12. On the bank of the Black River (in Ainu: Utnaj), a tributary of the Poronaj. Here many stone tools and vessels were found (information obtained from the merchant Larionow). 13. Around the Ainu village Taraika and the lake of the same name (Lopatin, Polakow). I left the fragments which were found there with an Ainu of the village of Nayero. 14. Not far from the Cape of Suffering (Siretoko). 15. North of the Cape of Suffering on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk which is called Karer by the Ainu. (These two places are mentioned by the Ainu.) 16. Around the village Natro at the Niische Bay. 17. Around the village Tschaywo. (16 and 17 are mentioned by the Gilyak.)

d) In the valley of the Tym River.

1. On the road between the villages Rykowsk and Palewo a large arrowhead was ploughed up. The wife of the farmer Schermukschyn preserved it in the belief that it had fallen from the sky and brought luck. 2. To the north of the village Rykowsk, at a distance of five to six kilometers from it, one of the workmen who built the road to the village Dezbinskoye found a stone chisel and a stone ax. Both objects were dug out and the finder kept them with a view to using them for sharpening knives, but lost them soon afterwards. The meadow in the woods where they had been found was sown every year, therefore it was impossible for me to dig there, but I repeatedly found on the surface many pieces of stone that had been worked on.

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3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

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As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place

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not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the

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Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak

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told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

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Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on

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174 pottery known to the people of the Kurile Islands that this art was known to the Ainu of Hokkaido and Sakhalin, too. For in that case one would be unable to explain why pottery has maintained its place until modern times among the Ainu of the Kuriles while it has been forgotten by all the other Ainu so thoroughly that not even legends are known about it.

• 172 A comparison between the remains of the Stone Age on the Island
174 Nippon and those of Hokkaido showed that the stone period on Hokkaido was much later than on Nippon. Relying on these results, Professor Tsuboi of the University of Tokyo asserts that the Koropok-guru whom he considers the makers of the above-mentioned stone relics had advanced from south to north. Perhaps the expected research of Japanese archeologists in the field of Tonchi remains will furnish the material for proving the hypothesis that the people Koropok-guru, whose descendants Tsuboi recognizes in the Eskimos of today, have migrated from Hokkaido to Sakhalin and from there further to the north.

If a comparison of the stone remains, tools, potsherds, and caves of the Tonchi with similar remains on Hokkaido shows that the makers of the latter have nothing in common with the Tonchi and that the route taken by the Koropok-guru did not lead via Sakhalin at all, there is another plausible conclusion left, namely that the inhabitants during the stone period on Sakhalin and in the Amur region were the same. There is still another factor indicating the identity of the original inhabitants of Sakhalin with those of the Amur region: Among the potsherds originating in the Stone Age Polakow also found bones of wild boars, who nowadays are no longer found on this island, only on the continent. But if at some time there were no boundaries between the animal kingdom on the continent and that on the island, one can claim with still greater certainty that the same human type could easily populate both lands which even today have much in common.

Among others Busse, an expert on the Amur region, in his article "Antike Ueberreste in den Talern Lefu, Daubiche und Ulache" (Berichte der Gesellschaft für Forschungen in der Amurgegend, Vol. I,

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172 Wladiwostok, 1888) has expressed this thesis. The /330/ results of
174 his own excavations in the district of Primorsk and those of Polakow on Sakhalin make Busse conclude that the aborigines of Sakhalin belonged to the same tribe as the Ileu people which is part of the Susihenish branch and belongs to the Tungus race. These aborigines of Manchuria and the region of Ussuri were first described by Chinese historians. According to their report the Ileu tribe lived in the mountains, in woods, was particularly fond of elevations, and lived in caves. For arms they used bow and arrow. The arrowheads were made of stone and soaked in poison. The tribe engaged in hunting and fishing and excelled in great fortitude. Therefore its neighbors had to suffer much from its attacks on land and sea.

An acquaintance of mine, a Japanese, translated for me the following passage on the Susihen from the book of the Japanese scholar Okamoto Riunosike on the History of the Island Hokkaido and the Diplomatic Relations between Russia and Japan. I quote:

"Susin (also Skucin or Hikusin) traveled on the shores of the Island Hokkaido in matters of trade. They lived in the eastern part of Tartary without forming permanent settlements and often came to Yezo (Hokkaido) with the intention of entering into trade relations with the Japanese. Their customs were very different from those of the Ainu."

These same Suschin are also mentioned in one of the oldest Japanese chronicles Udзи-dzine-mono gatali.

On one of the old monuments in Tagadzo (near the city of Senday close to the harbor of Siogama) one reads that the tribe Skucin, three thousand ri from Miakiken (old name for Senday and its environment) in the Province Mucu (old name for Nippon and the whole Yezo) lives in the northwest. As several educated Japanese assured me, none of the old Japanese chronicles reports that the Ainu used stone tools. Nor do the legends among the Ainu mention anything about it. In Eastern Asia, however, the stone period was very late. Thus the Russian scholar Palladius claims on the basis of Chinese sources that the stone period in several districts of the Ussuri region coincided with the eleventh century.

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- 172 As long as there is no exact comparative examination of the stone
- 174 remains dug out in the Amur region on Sakhalin and the Japanese islands as well as comparative research on the peoples living in Eastern Asia by which many a hypothesis will be confirmed, others refuted, I myself follow Busse's thesis mentioned above which says that the Tonchi on Sakhalin were inhabitants belonging to the Susihentish tribe.

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
 323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
 171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
 323 one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
 171 sides, tojes'ju, i. e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
 i. e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
 Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
 171 Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
 171 Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
 415 wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

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1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht.
tot de ontdek. van Vries /Geographical and
 Ethnographical Explanations from the Discover-
 ies by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that
 Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on
 Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
 Atlassef published by Witsen (2), the information that they

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2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705,
 p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels,
 but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
 Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
 171 Dittmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

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3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka
 in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and
 Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/"
 (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third
 series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small
 piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it
 had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought
 was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., p. 184.

G 1451 cont. /

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4. (cont.)

bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag
in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchā River (see /452/ note 3 on p.692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'ie) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however.

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Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Oroch in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rimō concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i. e., earthen pans)

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2. (cont.)

from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i. e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists